I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 period by the notch in the rear end (*yukuya matile*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's forehead. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tukua*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodsman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito hit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodsman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodsman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kaukaua*.

221 688 5 18 While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was taps to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school. The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this lucky 30 tulo puddings (*mauru*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also taps formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodsman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 tulo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the bonito and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Matakitaingi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

221 202 When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish; two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 30, then 30 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tuakele*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 200 fish but less than 300, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. Three canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

226 776 The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *wakamangala*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*humete*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the undersea house of the god Tonaloa and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

226 178 523 764 Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

784 the stones are of undressed coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipale, on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Wakangakele is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 3 inches above ground. Fua noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a simple headstone and footstone.

[785] The grave of the chief, Te Kale, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Matanga. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 12 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 30 feet long, 5 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

[786] On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tuaeae who was killed as a thief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matauea, of a man named Walekale and his two companions who broke the taps of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected graveyeaves in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are undressed, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Wakangakele. Fua stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kale and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Mangee, was a close friend of Te Kale and wished to be buried next to the chief, but as his lineage gods differed from those of Te Kale, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Alangase.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*manli ele*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual undressed coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172. Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely